

1: Marty

Senegal MS37

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[For a discussion of Muridism, a sect of Islam, its beliefs and influence see category 116, pp. 1-146.]

[14 cont.]

2. Circle of Baol (Diourbel)

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The circle of Baol is at the present time the area par excellence of Muridism, the area where, owing to favorable circumstances, it has developed widely since 1887. It includes today 33,000 persons affiliated with the sect (cf. Appendix No. 5), that is to say, two-fifths of the Moslems [15] and one-fifth of the total population of the circle. The adepts are not distributed evenly throughout the circle. Nearly all of them being of the Ouolof race, they are found especially in the region to the north of the Thiès-Kayes railroad. They also travel in small groups along the railroad. The cantons with the most Murids are those of Guéoul, Thièpe, Diette-Salao, and La.

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Special note will be made of the centers of 1) Diourbel, 2) Moaké-Darou-Touba, 3) Gaouane, 4) Bambey and environs.

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Diourbel. Of very special interest at the present day as far as the Muridism of Amadou Bamba is concerned, owing to the presence of the Grand Master of the confession in this railroad stop.

The Sérigne -- about 60 years old -- lives in a compound in the same town. His establishment, to this day, is quite curtailed. This state of affairs, which he has prolonged, was evidently a clear indication of his intention to show everyone that his stay there was only temporary.

At the moment things seem to be changing. Since his last promises to the local administration, he has had erected, under the direction of his disciple Ibra Fal, a large and spacious house on a large plot of ground next to the town. He wishes to prove by this gesture, as he has pointed out, that his submission to French authority is unqualified and that his settlement at Diourbel is to be regarded by all as permanent. For the same purpose he has had two of his four wives, who up to now lived at Touba with the rest of his family, come to Diourbel.

Amadou Bamba teaches about 50 pupils at Diourbel itself.

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Penda Lo and his disciples for practicing charlatanism, swindles, breach of trust, and various disturbances have cooled the zealots to a considerable extent. In this residence at the present time there are said to be six marabouts followed by 40 talibés. Of these six marabouts, two are attached directly to Amadou Bamba, one is connected to him through his brother, Amadou Mbaké, and the others through his lieutenants.

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The number of sérignes and talibés in the circle of Sine-Saloum is 281. Counting three or four women and children per man, one obtains a total figure of about a thousand persons affiliated with the sect of Amadou Bamba, which would represent 1.3 per cent of the Moslems and 0.5 per cent of the total population of the circle.

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The following are attached:

Appendix No. 7. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 8. Circle of Sine-Saloum:

List by residence and canton of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

Appendix No. 9.

Letter from Amadou Bamba, dated 9 February 1913, disowning the marabout-agitator, Assane Touré.

4. Circle of Thies

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The Murid confession, which since 1910 has very sharply drawn to Thiés not only the attention of the local administration, but even that of the European traders in the railroad stops, [26] seems today to be on the wane in this circle.

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Amadou Khodja Guèye, mediocre scholars, offer Koranic teaching and some elements of grammar to about 75 young talibés from 6 to 15 years old. After this age, Ibra Fal no doubt believes that professional apprenticeship is much more beneficial to them, and out of this commendable sentiment he sends them into commerce or to work in the fields.

These students are lodged in a dozen huts, with 4 to 12 in each one. They have the most diverse arrangements for sleeping: European beds, sofas, mattresses, pallets, mats, or low beds [bas-flancs] of reeds or poles.

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Darou Baïre, in its central quarter, also contains two mosques, that is to say, two reed enclosures with small central pavillons, one of which is roofed with corrugated iron. One of these mosques is for daily prayers, the other for prayers on Fridays and feast days.

[30] Directly alongside are found the sheik's living quarters, a hut made of planks and adorned with furnishings of various sorts, then a few fruit trees, and finally a small hut serving as his private place of worship.

The main entrance to the quarter is blocked by the well-stocked store, made of planks, of a disciple-trader. This compels one to walk through the store in order to enter the village of the sheik. This grocer's entrance has symbolic value.

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The influence of Sheik Ibra Fal is felt outside the circle of Thiès at all the stops of the railroad from Cayor to Louga.

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One matter which is particularly deserving of note is the possible spread of Muridism into the territory of the Sérère race, less as Amadou Bamba's particular sect than as an Islamic confession. Heretofore the Sérère have resisted any radiation of Islam into their territory because of their attachment to their traditional beliefs. The Murid sheik, however, knows how to work himself in; he knows how to adapt Islamic doctrine to the needs of the moment. He permits the neophyte to preserve in full his own way of life, particularly his drunkenness, provided that he make the Murid act of faith. Once enrolled, the

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new "brother" finally succumbs to the influences around him and, after entrusting to the sheik his immortal interests, finally places into his hands the direction of his material life as well. This is the first breach made by Islam in the fetishistic block.

Let us hasten to add that it is very small because, as has already been mentioned, of the two residences of Thiès established in Sérère territory, one, that of the Petite Côte, has only a handful of Murids, while the other, that of Fissel, contains a strong Murid group only in the canton of Diobas. [31] This group consists almost entirely of a vanguard of Ouolof immigrants from Baol. There are only 200 Muridized Sérère, among whom there is but one important personage.

The total number of Murids in the circle seems to be 5,080, which represents one-fifth of the number of Moslems and one-seventeenth of the total population of the circle.

The following are attached:

Appendix No. 10. Circle of Thiès:
Genealogy of the Fal family (Sheik Ibra Fal).

Appendix No. 11. Circle of Thiès:
Enumeration by residence and canton of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 12. Circle of Thiès:
List by residence of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

5. Circle of Cayor (Tivaouane)

The circle of Cayor (Tivaouane) constitutes, along with Baol (Diourbel) and the canton of Diobas (Thiès, Residence of Fissel), the center par excellence of the Muridism of Amadou Bamba.

At the present time, the circle is very nearly Islamized in its entirety. This Islamization was effected some 50 years ago
[i.e., circle of Thiès -- Analyst]

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 795 through the preachings of marabouts who came from Toucouleur
 W territory via Diambour. These persons, whose names still live
 [793] in the memories of scholars, [32] are: Mokhtar Doumbé, teacher
 of Momar Antasali (the latter being the father and teacher of
 Amadou Bamba);

Mamaka Kane, from his village of Sine Leye Kane, and Semb
 Cor, from Tivaouane, spread Islam in Saniakhor;

Aboulaye Si, apostle of the Mboul.

It was especially the influence of Ma Ba, elimane of Saloum,
 that was decisive, however. His fiery preaching and his calls
 to holy war drew many natives to him. The triumph was com-
 plete on the day when the damel Lat Dior sought the support of
 Islam for the sake of his cause. His conversion was followed by
 that of his subjects, whom he commanded, like all Black rulers,
 to embrace his religion.

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 [798] At the present day the circle is divided between Tidiania and
 Qadria, and the adepts of these two Moslem religious orders re-
 gard each other more as mutual heretics than as co-religionists
 belonging to two orthodox brotherhoods.

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 793 The Tidiania are subject to Si El-Hadj Malik, a marabout
 well disposed towards our influence.

The Qadria, in small numbers, are attached to Sheik Sidia
 (brotherhood of the Qadria-Lessidia), to Sheik Saad Bouh (brother-
 hood of Qadria-Fadelia), to a very influential local marabout,
 Sheik Bou Kounta, who resides at Keur Bou Kounta, six kilometers
 from Tivaouane, but in major part especially to the Qadri Muridism
 of Amadou Bamba.

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 795 The circle of Cayor seems to merit special attention as far as
 S Islam is concerned, first of all, because of the number of Moslems,
 795 134,000 out of 140,000 inhabitants, or 27/28ths of the total popu-
 [62] lation, but especially because of the budding efflorescence of
 Muridisms which await only a favorable occasion in order to de-
 velop to the same extent as that of Amadou Bamba, and also be-
 cause of the nature of the religious sentiments of these newly
 W Islamized people. It [33] would seem that in this Cayor area,
 [668] which was the center of the stubborn resistance of the Ouolof race

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to our domination, the natives became converted to Islam merely in order to find a basis for passive resistance on different grounds. The most loyal among them, the Tidiania of El-Hadj Mali or the Qadria of Sheik Bou Kounta, remain neutral; the indomitable ones hasten to join the Muridism of Amadou Bamba, because this religious leader, friend and marabout of the former darnels and obviously aspiring to succeed them, has been set up as a kind of representative of the sentiment for the former independence.

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The approaching loss of Sheik Bou Kounta will raise the problem of spiritual succession and a declassing of members. It would be well to watch this brotherhood from now on and to have a very clear political course. It seemingly would not be advantageous if the Qadria Murids of Bou Kounta, upon his death, were to augment the number of the Qadria Murids of Amadou Bamba.

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The number of the Bamba Murids in the circle¹ is about 28,000 out of 134,000 Moslems and 140,000 inhabitants, which represents one-fifth of the total population, and obviously one-fifth of the Islamized population.

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Province of Saniakhor. The principal Murid villages are: Maummou, near Piré; Ngouf and Médina in the canton of Mbar. Médina is under the spiritual leadership of an aged and influential marabout: Mahèye Bèye. This sheik, the son of a sérigne who was formerly influential himself, Ibra Bèye, and of a Lebbou mother, joined the Bamba brotherhood some six years ago. He had formerly met Amadou Bamba in the entourage of Lat Dior and Semba Laobé, where he was a marabout. He is a rich farmer who has brought together 200 or 300 disciples and followers in the Mekhé area. A friend of Ibra Fal, he maintains close relations with this sheik.

[34] Keur Momar Ovarka, the village of the sérigne Momar Ouarka Khan. The latter gathers about 60 talibés around him, half of whom follow his Koranic teachings.

1 [i.e., circle of Cayor -- Analyst]

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6. Circle of Louga

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[62] The circle of Louga is now completely Islamized. Four peoples, Ouolof, Peul, Toucouleur, and Moors, share its territory. Each of these peoples, in conformity with sociological laws, understands the doctrine and prescriptions of the Prophet according to the peculiar spirit of its race, and adapts them to its traditional institutions, but all claim to be Moslems in the religious realm.

Up to the end of 1911, the circle, or more specifically the province of Diolof, was an ardent seat of Muridism. The reason for this, however, was factitious. It was simply the presence of Amadou Bamba at Thiéène which provoked this unusual unrest.

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[793] When the Master left (January 1912), the disciples followed him. No more pilgrims were seen, and it can be stated that the influence acquired over the local populations was practically null. Today in the entire circle one could hardly point out 300 Murid sérignes and talibés, who represent a thousand persons affiliated with the brotherhood of Amadou Bamba. If it is noted that the circle contains 106,000 inhabitants, or [37] 106,000 Moslems (cf. Appendix No. 15), it will be seen that the proportion of the Murids is 1/106 of the Moslem and total population of the circle.

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793 Only a few of the marabouts merit special mention in each of the five provinces which comprise the circle.

Province of Diolof. The province of Diolof is headed by a remarkably intelligent and energetic chief, Bouna N'diaye, who understands perfectly how to obtain the allegiance of all his subjects, no matter what their Islamic confession may be.

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[871] The most important sérigne in this province is Khali N'diaye of Ouolof origin, who has a hundred talibés-workers at N'diayène and dispenses Koranic teaching to a dozen students.

Province of North Diambour [Diambour septentrional].
North Diambour is no longer of much interest. There are about

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793 brother is a source of worry to Amadou Bamba, who nevertheless shows him great partiality and gives him large sums of money, which are soon spent. This Murid of fancy, however, this Sheik Thioro, is still not content. He puts on airs, flirts with the businessmen and traders of Senegal, and offers his services to the administration. All this bustling in a vacuum is quite harmless, for no one takes Sheik Thioro seriously.

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Provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais. As one draws away from the Murid crescent which borders the Ferlo on the west, southwest, and south, [39] Amadou Bamba's influence vanishes. Thus, the provinces of N'guick-Mérina and Gandiolais are almost free of it. There is said to be a total of 80 sérignes and talibés in these two provinces, which represents a maximum of 250 persons under the spiritual authority of Amadou Bamba. No personality merits special mention.

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The appendices attached are:

Appendix No. 15. Circle of Louga:

Enumeration by province of the Murids, the Islamized, and the total population.

Appendix No. 16. Circle of Louga:

List by province of the principal Murid marabouts, their origin, their residence, their spiritual father, and the number of their talibés.

7. Dakar and Saint-Louis

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For the sake of completeness, the small number of Murids living in Dakar and Saint-Louis should be pointed out. There are about 140 in Dakar and 130 in Saint-Louis.

These Murids are not even inhabitants of the city, but immigrants from Baol, Cayor, and Diambour; Dakar, indeed, is too

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●795 busy a city to lend itself to religious propaganda, and Saint-Louis
369 is too enlightened a Moslem center to accept the doctrinal fancies
[166] of the Murids.

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[463] They are there as laborers, usually without their families,
S sent by their sheik to earn money. They work as porters on the
W quays and especially as makers and sellers of mats for the use of
[166] the natives. [40] In Dakar, they also work as water vendors in
S the Black quarters, and in Saint-Louis as vendors of firewood or
W of fodder for the many cows fed in the city.

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[166] When winter draws near, most of these talibés return to their
S country of origin to engage in the tasks of preparing the land and
W of sowing.

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793 In general they are under the spiritual authority of Sheik
Ibra Fal. He himself goes to Dakar. He is represented in Saint-
Louis by Amadou Guèye.

Sheik Ibra Fal owns several compounds and various buildings
in both Dakar and Saint-Louis.

Sheik Anta owns a handsome house in Dakar, in the Rue
Raffenel, purchased for 28,000 francs from a native and now
rented to a Moroccan trader named Madani El-Qtiri.

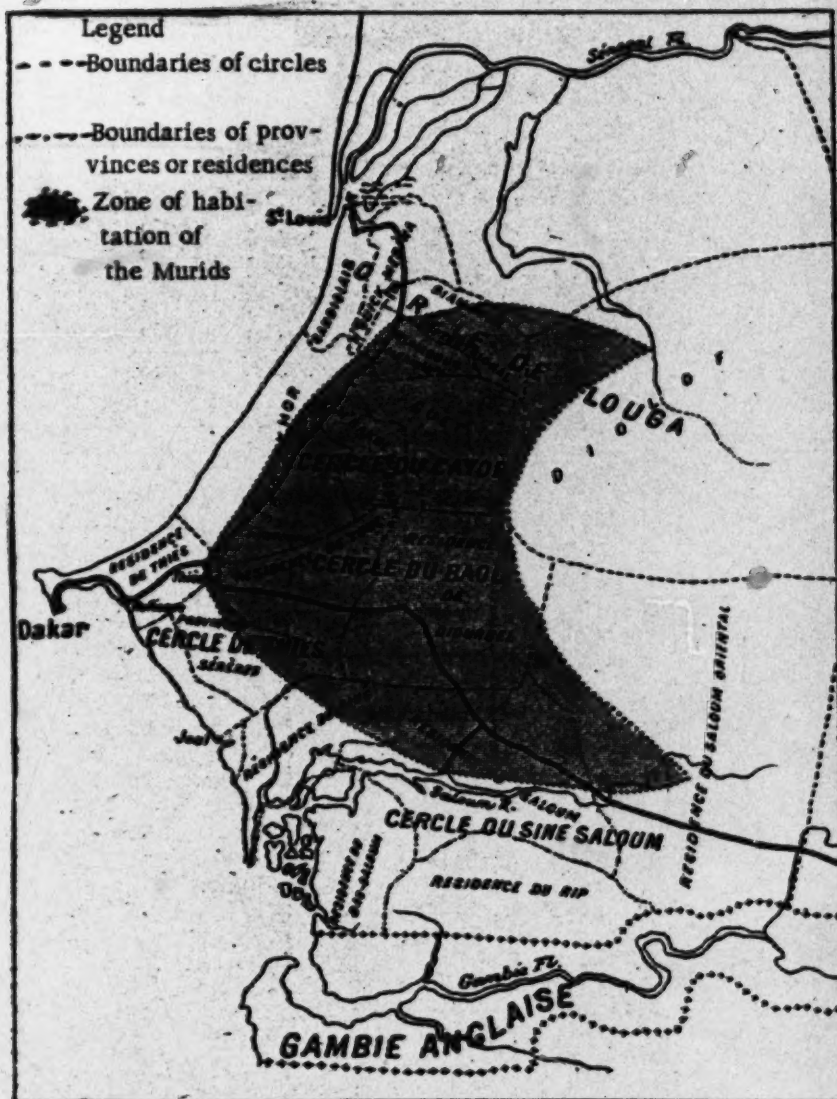
Conclusion

In this study of the cadres and the faithful of the Murid
order, there ought to be included, aside from Amadou Bamba
and the principal lieutenants already mentioned, a large num-
ber of local marabouts who have not all been taught by Amadou
Bamba, but who, some of them possibly out of personal convic-
tion, others out of self-interest and in order to keep their be-
lievers who were drawn to the new movement, have joined the
order of the Sérigne and have become his vicars. To these
should be added the chiefs of villages or factions, notables in
quest of authority or prestige, clever traders who skillfully
manage their commercial affairs and their spiritual interests.

l: Marty--123 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
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Appendix No. 1



Geographical schema of the Murid confession.

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Appendix No. 2

General enumeration by circles of all the
 Murids of Amadou Bamba.

Circle of Baol	33,000
Circle of Sine Saloum	1,000
Circle of Thiès	5,080
Circle of Cayor	28,000
Circle of Longa	1,000
Dakar	140
Saint-Louis	150
Total	68,350

Appendix No. 3

Genealogy of the M'baké family.

			Mohammed.
			Amadou Bouso.
		Momar Diara.	Sheik Abd El-Qader
			Mohammed Lamine.
	Diara Bouso.		Mohammed Mostafa.
			Mohammed Fadel.
		Amadou Bamba.	Mohammed Lamine.
			Mohammed Bachir.
	Momar.	Ibra Fati	Ibrahim.
Mballa.	Fatia Diop		Mohammed El-Habib.
			Mohammed Mostafa.
Mbaké.	Antasali.	Sheik Anta.	Ibrahim.
			Sérigne.
	Anta N'Diaye.	Amadou Mbaké.	
		Niang.	Amadou.
		Sheik Tioro.	Mohammed.
	Thiouro Diop.	Mballa Mbaké	Mohammed.
	Hafsa Diahhaté.	Sheik Hafsa.	Fati Benta (daughter)
	Issa Dièye.	Masemba.	Mohammed.
	Ibra Mbaké.	Amor. M'baké.	

1: Marty--125 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
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Appendix No. 4
Genealogy of the Bouso Family.

Sérigne Moham- med Bouso.	M'baké Bouso	Amadou
	(Wife: Kadia, half sister of Amadou Bamba).	Alioune.
	(Wife: Sheik El-Hadj Bouso Rokiata, full sister of Amadou Bamba.)	Mommar Bouso.
		Bou Baker.

Appendix No. 5
Circle of Baol (Diourbel.)
Enumeration by cantons of the Murids, the Islamized,
and the total population.

Names or can- tons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Number of Total Popula- tion	Races that Inhabit the Canton
Diack	785		15,980	Sérère.
Fandène	1,513		11,117	Ouolof
Guéoul	9,528		16,441	--
Dondolle	378		13,492	Sérère
Pègue	1,768		12,918	Ouolof
Thiépe	4,097		14,929	---
Ndadène	861		9,551	Sérère
Kontor	809		3,438	Peul
Diette Salao	6,142		12,185	Ouolof
Ngoye	760		13,507	Sérère
La	5,645		16,221	Ouolof and Peul
Mbayar-Bidiar	633		26,051	Sérère
Total	32,919	86,000	161,830	

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Appendix No. 7
 Circle of Sine-Saloum

Enumeration by residences and canton of the Murids,
 the Islamized, and the total population.

		Murids		Islami-	Total pop-
		Sérignes	Talibés	alized	ulation
Resi- dence of Saloum. Cantons of:	Kaolack				
	Laghem	4	36		
	Kahone	4	9		
	Nguer	1	4		
	Diokoul				
	Goudiaye	5	5		
	Total	14	54	18,193	42,668
Resi- dence of Sine Cantons of:	Diakhao	2	18		
	Dioïne	6	0		
	Diouroup Djilas	0	0		
	Songhai	0	0		
	Maroutte	11	91		
	Gayokèime	2	11		
	Total	21	120	12,697	86,616
		0	0		
Resi- dence of Lower Saloum	Nimbato				
	Djilor	0	0		
	Total			15,419	19,508
Resi- dence of Rip	Oualo-Kayemor	2	0		
	Saback-Rip	1	5		
	Niom-Rip	2	16		
	Total	5	21	19,301	20,850

1 [i.e., one followed by disciples--Analyst]
 2 [i.e., disciples--Analyst]

l: Marty--129 G-4,5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
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(Appendix No. 7 cont.)

		Murids		Islami- lized	Total pop- ulation
		Sérignes	Talibés		
Resi- dence of East Saloum	Ndoukoumane-- Pakalla	4	18		
	Koungheul	2	22		
	Total	6	40	10,742	13,284
General Total		281		76,352	182,926

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Appendix No. 8

Circle of Sine-Saloum

List by residences and cantons of the principal Murid
marabouts, their origins, their residences, their
spiritual fathers, and the number of their talibés. ¹/_A

Names	Origins	Resi- dences	Spiritual Fathers	No. of Talibés
Residence of Saloum (Kaolack). Canton of Kaolack- Laghem. Tamsir Moussa				
Paté	Ouolof.	Pakatia.	Amadou Bamba.	11
Omar Diouf	"	Mbadiou.	Tamsir Moussa.	
Babakar N'Diaye	"	Mbouma.	Amadou Bamba.	4
Massakho Sakho	"	Tahoua.	Ibra Fati.	21
Canton of Kahone.				
Amadou Cissé.	"	Bill.	Amadou Fadiame.	7

¹/_A [i.e. disciples -- Analyst]

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Appendix No. 11

Circle of Thiès

Enumeration by residences and cantons of the Murids,
the Islamized, and the total population.

Residences and Cantons	Number of Murids	Number of Islamiz- ed	Total of the General Popula- tion	Observations
Residence of Thiès:				
Canton of Thiès	490	3,120	5,400	K. Ibra Fal.
" of Thor-Diander.	10	5,230	10,030	Darou.
Residence of the Sérère provinces:				
Canton of M'Badane				
Sadsal	30	540	12,120	Sassal.
Canton of Sandoc				
Diaganiao	"	920	8,540	
Canton of Sao				
Dimack	"	410	9,260	
Canton of the Diebas	4,300	5,580	13,850	Khaban Tassette.
Residence of the Petite Côte				
Canton of Nianing	50	4,410	7,200	Thiombologe.
Canton of Joal-N'Gohé	200	2,200	5,350	Thiadiaye.
		3,900	11,300	
Totals	5,080	26,400	83,050	

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1: Marty--136 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
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(Appendix No. 12 cont.)

Names	Origins	Residences	Number of Talibés	Observations
Manik Diop.	Ouolof.	Malamstone.		
Mommar Touré.	"	Tassette.	20	at Touré.
Abdou N'Doye.	"	"	20	at N'Doyène.
Sheik Madiop.	"	"	30	at Keur Madiop.
Sérigne Mommar Senne	"	Pout.	10	
Laman Malik.	Sérère.	Pognom.		newly converted.
Residence of the Petite Côte (Nianing).				
Alioune Sal.	Ouolof.	Guélor.	50	imprisoned in 1910 for dis- turbances.

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Appendix No. 13

Circle of Cayor

Enumeration by provinces of the Murids, the
Islamized, and the total population.

Provinces	Number of Murids	Number of Islamized	Total Population
Saniakhor.	6,000		
Mbakhoul-Mboul.	10,000		
Guét.	12,000		
Total	28,000	133,400	139,150

Note. - The circle of Cayor contains 5,750 inhabitants who
are not Islamized.

This number is made up of: about 5,000 Sérère, scattered in
the cantons of N'Doute and M'Bar in the province of Saniakhor;
500 Laobé, scattered in the province of Guet; 200 Akou, in the
railroad stops; and 50 Mandiogo, distributed throughout the circle.

1: Marty--142 G-4.5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS39
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Appendix No. 15

Circle of Louga

Enumeration of the Murids, the Islamized, and
the total population.

Provinces	Total Number of Murids	Moslems	General Total	Observations
Djolof.	300	36,895	36,895	
North				
Diambour	300	32,800	32,800	
South				
Diambour	150	14,678	14,678	
N'Guick				
Merina	150	14,582	14,582	
Gandiolaix.	100	7,073	7,073	
	1,000	106,028	106,028	

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Appendix No. 16

Circle of Louga

List by provinces of the principal Murid marabouts,
their origins, their residence, their spiritual
fathers, and the number of their talibés.

Names	Origins	Residences	Spiritual Fathers	Number of Talibés
Province of Diolof:				
Abdou Kamara.	Ouolof.	Kamara.	Amadou Bamba	2
Alioun M'Baye.	"	Nboundiane.	"	2
Modo Sankhe.	"	Tiankhé.	"	2
Khali N'Diaye.	"	N'Diayène.	"	110
Diadé N'Dao.	"	lagne Sagata.	"	8
Baba Fati M'Baye.	"	Mbatène.	"	6
Alle Khari.	"	"	"	5

2: Bourlon

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[For a discussion of Muridism, its leaders and influence
see category 116, pp. 1-27.]

AFRICAN ELITES

cent of the population. Thus, the number of Europeans in intermediate or subordinate posts has substantially increased and the range of competitive situations, instead of growing less is being regularly extended. This affects not only the new elite, but a large segment of the old 'administrative bourgeoisie', and even, to some extent, the workers and lower supervisory grades in industry. And so, while—in theory—opportunities for reaching the highest ranks and simultaneously entering the European group (a consequence foreseen by assimilationist ideology) have increased with the development of education, in reality a radical change in the whole social structure has multiplied the causes of conflict. New factors have cropped up abruptly: further assimilation is gainsaid, Europeans and Africans become more and more sensitive to the realities of race, etc. Obviously, the political consequences of such conflicts are considerable.

I have mentioned cases in which a rift occurred between the elites and the masses, in the early years, at any rate, of the 'colonial elite'. This fact needs some further explanation, while the question of the relations between the 'educated' and the 'traditional' categories calls for re-examination on a wider basis. The stereotyped patterns maintained by the European administration underline the points of divergence. The administration has besides had a tendency—and not only in Senegal—to underestimate the influence of modernist elites and to depreciate their impact upon the population as a whole. True, important tensions can be observed, and some antagonism developed between the citizens (those of the 'four communes'), from whom the major part of the 'colonial elite' came, and the subjects in the other parts of the territory; but such tensions virtually disappeared with the legal changes introduced immediately after the war, a fact which is proof enough how superficial the points of divergence were. The 'educated' classes, moreover, sought to reap all possible profit from the power they acquired in their administrative functions, or in their role of intermediary between producers and the big commercial companies; and that attitude naturally set up a great many local conflicts. Sometimes they sought compensation for their inferior standing in the traditional framework by asserting themselves in the exercise of their new functions. As we have already shown, however, the population as a whole recognized the prestige of the new intellectual elite. True, their prestige did not necessarily displace the traditional prestige, but the two can coexist, a circumstance which stands out most clearly in rural districts. So, even if the 'educated' African has difficulty in fitting into the traditional system or even the family group, even if he is often a maladjusted element, he is rarely the fish out of water whom so many colonial observers considered him. All the elements of the population are still continually in touch.¹ There are two basic reasons for this. First, the range of family relationships is still a very wide one and they themselves are still effective; they maintain their hold on the 'educated' African even when he has left his birthplace. Secondly, religion—chiefly Islam in Senegal—and above all, membership of a sect, which is practically hereditary, continue to be important. The fact that tension between elites and masses led to nothing but quite limited and temporary breaks explains why the recent and entirely conscious effort to retie loose bonds was carried through with comparative ease. It was the new elite that, with political aims in view, inspired this effort. Usually too far removed from the

1. The vitality of racial or regional associations is significant in this respect.

/183 cont. /

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

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871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

791 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence; that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

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162 Here (p. 43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

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172 In itself alone, the sect accounts for more than half of the population. It is only among the Sérère that Muridism predominates; in all the other ethnic groups it is either non-existent or occupies second place, as among the Wolof.

In the second place, although Tidjanism predominates among the Wolof /184/ /Tables 18 and 19 appear here/ and by a large majority among the Toucouleur, the Peul, and the Sarakolé (1), the Khadres are the ones who are preponderant

1. We have separated the Sarakolé from the Toucouleur because there is a slight difference of religious behavior between them.

in the other groups.

Finally, Pikine is not a city in which the Christian element holds an important place. Unquestionably it is difficult to judge by starting from such a limited sample of Catholics. Nevertheless, the percentage obtained corresponds to that which Father Martin found last year: 2.36% instead of 2%. The Christian minority /185/ is represented above all by the Sérère and Casamançais element. We note simply that this percentage is slightly higher in the districts than in the quarters: 13.7% instead of 0.9%.

The table of the distribution of the heads of households -- comprised of women this time -- by ethnic group and religion offers a useful point of comparison. /Table 20 appears here. /

Let us compare the average percentage of this table with that of the preceding one: we see that the proportion of Tidjanes and of Khadres decreases as one passes from the total population to the category of heads of households, while this proportion increases in the case of the Murids. This phenomenon indicates simply that the Tidjane and Khadre homes are relatively more numerous than the Murid homes, as is confirmed by the following table where we give the average number of individuals by homes, according to religious affiliation: /Table 21 appears here. /

[Text continues on p. 46 -- Analyst]

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Table 20

Ethnic Group Religion	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Tidjanes	48.2	27	74.5	78.6	7.1	22.2	11.4	47.4
Khadres	3.6	13.5	11.2	14.3	85.8	74.1	54.3	18.9
Murids	45.3	43.3	10.1	--	--	--	5.7	29.7
Layens	2.3	--	2.1	--	--	--	--	1.6
Without sect	0.3	5.4	2.1	7.1	7.1	--	--	1.6
Catholics	0.3	10.8	--	--	--	3.7	28.6	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thore--45 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS39

/185 cont. /

Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here. /

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatibility of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

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of each sect. /Table 23 appears here. /

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Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half ~~100~~ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

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VI. Habitat and Family

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After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

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heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water. It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

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The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, remind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city.

• [795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

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The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

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Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, milieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

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by the Mandingue and settled in Siné-Saloum. They are above all millet farmers; on the average they cultivate a hectare of this cereal to 70 acres of groundnuts. The groundnut, having entered the agricultural cycle quite recently, has contributed to the formation of a ground of specialized sectors. Around the village, surrounding it, are located the fields of small millet, cotton, and manioc. Beyond this pombod, under the Faidherbia, the ground is divided into three areas /soles/ corresponding to a system of triennial rotation, small millet, groundnuts, and fallowing, where, after cultivation, the animals graze and manure the soil for the next cultivation. Each family has its shares in each /8/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ area.

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[423] The separation between these three large sectors of the ground is maintained by living hedges or barriers of cut thorns. In Sérère country a permanent ground is delineated, and land ownership stands out. The peasant takes care of managing the land and only wants a little money for the groundnuts, a secondary crop.

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244 3) "Speculative" or "extractive" cultivation. In contrast to the Sérère example, this is a type of cultivation where the cultivator, often occasional, is attracted solely by the immediate profit that groundnuts may bring. It is practiced by the group of Murids on the one hand, and, on the other, by the navétanes /seasonal workers/.

• 795 /9/ Muridism (3) is a Moslem movement founded by Sheik

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[113] 3. Pelissier, P. "L'arachide au Sénégal, rationalisation et modernisation de la culture," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, Vol. IV, 1951, No. 13, pp. 80-85.

Aimadou Bamba, who died in 1927. The brotherhood has many adepts, especially in Siné-Saloum near the Ouoloff. For the Murids, Islam is a religion based on renouncement. Agricultural work becomes a holy thing if it is done for the benefit of the pious man who prays. The adepts of Muridism, or talibés, thus

[Text continues on p. 7--Analyst]

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795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "ground- 311 nut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come

4. Fouquet, J.. La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a verbal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

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2. Experiences with mechanized cultivation. The experiences with mechanized cultivation proceeded from the arrangements of the law of 30 April 1946 on the first plan for "social and economic development of the oversea territories."

a) The first experience was that of the "bloc de l'arachide /bloc of the groundnut/." In 1947 the "Bloc de l'arachide" was created at Boulel, 21 kilometers north of Kaffrine, in the region of new lands. It had at its disposal 15,000 hectares of bush in a single holding and was endowed with powerful equipment. A labor force of 360 Murids, directed by 160 technicians, proceeded with the clearing, which in 1954 reached about 3,000 hectares. The aims of the enterprise are multiple. It is a matter of: 1. testing the equipment to be used in the preparation of the soil plowing, seeding, weeding, and harvesting; 2. initiating the Murid labor force in the handling of mechanical machines; 3. procuring contrivances for certain jobs, such as decortication for the sowing, deherbaging before the harvest; 4. instituting methods of cultivation that can give the highest yields while protecting the soil.

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The practical results have been rather mediocre. The expenses are very high, and amortization of the equipment is scarcely possible. Moreover, the Murid colonists have adapted themselves poorly. In 1953 the latter were eliminated, and in 1955 the Bloc became the "Secteur expérimental de modernisation agricole" (S. E. M. A.) /Experimental Section for Agricultural Modernization/. Its activities were henceforth to be divided /11/ into three sections: a management section which supervises the clearing; an experimental section determining the most suitable techniques of cultivation and instructing the labor force; a section of exploitation, which applies the results of experimentation. The S. E. M. A. "admitted" 155 families for its work. It furnishes the lands prepared by machine, assures certain methods, loans food and seed without interest. Those admitted must take care of the complementary

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244 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed
654 by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux/General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless, in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

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Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000 inhabitants
Sérère	85,000 "
Mandingue or	
Socé	50,000 "
Peuhl	10,000 "
Foreigners and	
miscellaneous	15,000 "
Total	280,000 inhabitants

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In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

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Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

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The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his